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## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS<sup>1</sup>

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Psychological examining in the United States Army yielded a large body of results that may be considered as by-products. Most of these by-products will not appear in the official report which is now in the course of publication. In order that these incidental results be made available it has been thought wise to publish them as separate studies. The present study is a report made by the writer to the office of the Surgeon General, December 1918. It is an attempt to present in a summary fashion the available information concerning the intelligence, education, grounds of objection, social and political history of conscientious objectors..

The first psychological examinations of conscientious objectors were made in compliance with a letter from The Adjutant General of the Army dated March 6th, 1918. At that time there were no psychological examiners on duty at most of the camps. These first examinations were made by the psychiatrists and medical officers or by Special Boards. The reports of these early examinations are very diverse in character and extremely difficult to summarize. On April 22, 1918, Major R. M. Yerkes summarized these data in a report for the Secretary of War. The essential facts of this summary are embodied in this report. As soon as psychological examiners were on duty at most of the camps and cantonments a letter was sent out from the Surgeon General's Office, Division of Psychology, directing how the examinations should be conducted and the reports should be made. In June, 1918, a special examination for conscientious objectors was sent out to the camps. A copy of this examination appears in an appendix to this paper.

The data presented here are taken from about 30 reports sent to the Surgeon General's Office by the various psychological examiners. Some camps made several reports, others made one and some made none. The reports available for this summary cover about 20 camps and represent about 1000

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<sup>1</sup> Published with the approval of the War Department.

objectors. This is a little less than one half of the total number of conscientious objectors in the army. From a careful examination of the available information the writer is of the opinion that the 1000 cases presented here is a fair sampling of the total number.

The intelligence of conscientious objectors, as measured by the army mental tests, is on the average above that of the white draft of the army as a whole. By the army mental tests intelligence is rated on a scale of A, B, C+, C, C—, D, D—. The following table compares the intelligence ratings of the white draft of the army and the conscientious objectors.

	White Draft <sup>2</sup> (94,000 Cases)	Conscientious Objectors (1,000 Cases)
A "Very Superior"	4.1%	8.7%
B "Superior"	8.0%	15.2%
C+ "High Average"	15.2	22.6
C "Average"	25.0	24.8
C— "Low Average"	23.8	16.8
D "Inferior"	17.0	8.7
D— "Very Inferior"	7.1	3.1

These figures show that 46.5% of the conscientious objectors are above the grade of "C" which is *Average*, while in the army as a whole only 27.3% are above "C." And conversely 28.6% of the conscientious objectors are below "C" while 47.9% of the army as a whole are below "C." Another interesting fact about this table is that the ratio of A & B men of the army as a whole to the A & B men of the conscientious objectors is about 1:2. Conversely this ratio for D and D—men is about 2:1. There is absolutely nothing in these data to justify the hasty conclusion that objection to war is due to the low mentality of the objector. It may be true that some objectors can be classed as fanatics, others may be said to be stupid, but it can safely be said that at least 97% of the conscientious objectors reported here have sufficient intelligence to know what they are doing.

Educational data were available on 880 objectors. The following table shows the percentages of these men who reached the various grades in school.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> These figures are quoted from page 1076 of the Report of the Surgeon General to the Secretary of War, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> It is regretted that the educational data of the army as a whole are not available at this time. They will appear in "Psychological Examining in the U. S. Army," Memoirs of The National Academy of Sciences, vol 15 (In press).

Grade Reached	Per Cent.	Grade Reached	Per Cent.
0	100	H. S. I	42
1	99	H. S. II	29
2	98	H. S. III	24
3	97	H. S. IV	18
4	94		
5	88	Col. I	12
6	80	Col. II	9
7	70	Col. III	6
8	58	Col. IV	3
		Professional	.5

It will be pointed out presently that about 50% of the men in this report are Mennonites. Less than 10% of the Mennonites went beyond the 8th grade. The 12% who reached college were either Socialists, Dunkards or Friends.

The religious denominations of 1060 conscientious objectors are as follows:

Mennonites (Old and New)	342
Mennonites (Defenseless)	13
Mennonites (Swiss)	12
Mennonites (Amish)	99
Mennonites (Old Amish)	88
	<hr/>
Friends (Quakers)	554
Brethren, Church of the	80
International Bible Students (Russellites)	67
Dunkards	60
Israelites of the House of David	37
The Church of Christ	39
The Church of God and Saints of Christ, Etc.	31
Seventh Day Adventists	20
Methodists	20
Pentecostal Assembly	14
Catholics	13
Assembly of God	9
Missionary Church	9
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	8
Lutherans	8
Christians (Campbellites)	8
Christadelphians	7
Holiness	7
Apostolic Christian	6
Baptist	6
Brethren (Plymouth)	5
Church of the First Born	5
Congregationalists	4
Presbyterians	4
Zionists	3

Other denominations of less than 3 are: True Light Church,

Christian Science, Brethren in Christ, Baptists (Free Will) Evangelists, Baptist (Austrian), Baptist (United), Brethren (United), Christian Lights, Gospel Hall, Universalists, Stundists, Rosacruzians, Mazdazman, Brotherhood of Mystics, Ethical Culture Society. In addition to this list 55 cases are reported as having no denominational affiliations at all.

Attention has already been called to the fact that about one half of the conscientious objectors are Mennonites of one branch or another. The Friends, Brethren, Dunkards, International Bible Students (Russellites), and Israelites of the House of David constitute about 25% of the total. These taken with the Mennonites make up fully 75% of the conscientious objectors.

It is interesting to observe that all of these sects, with the possible exception of the Friends, believe in the literal interpretation of the Scriptures. As will be seen later their appeal is usually to the Bible and to their church creed. Moreover they are all more or less clannish. This is especially true of the Mennonites who live in colonies in the middle west. In some instances they constitute a large part of the population of one county.

The list of religions "organized prior to May, 1917 and well-recognized, whose creeds forbid participation in war" are relatively few. Such a list has been prepared by Mr. Hunt of the Census Bureau and is as follows:

- Mennonites, 16 bodies (including the Amish);
- Friends, (Quakers) 4 bodies;
- Dunkards, three bodies;
- Brethren, four bodies;
- German Baptists; two bodies;
- Churches of Christ;
- Christadelphians;
- United Zionists;
- Assemblies of God;
- Pentecostal Church of Nazarene;
- Apostolic Holiness;
- Fellowship of Reconciliation (not a religious sect);
- International Bible Students Association (Not an organized sect).

The denominational lists have interest to the psychologist because in conducting an examination it was found necessary to know something of the religious background of the objector. (See the examination at the end of this article).

The grounds of objection to war are in general three, religious, social and political. The religious objector makes

his appeal to the Bible, church creed and to conscience. The social objector makes his appeal to individual freedom. The political objector usually bases his objection on the ground of alien citizenship. Out of 958 cases, 90% object on religious grounds; 5% on social grounds; 3% on political grounds and 2% on ethical grounds. It is quite obvious that the problem of the conscientious objector is a problem of dealing with religions.

In many cases records were kept of the specific objections which were made. Such records were available of about 500 cases. Object Because:

War is forbidden by church and creed.....	115
War is forbidden in the Scriptures in general.....	125
War is forbidden by Christ.....	95
War is forbidden by the commandment.....	60
War is forbidden by conscience.....	120
War promotes evil .....	16
War is wrong in and of itself.....	21
War is capitalistic and Imperialistic.....	10
War is getting autocracy.....	7
Have friends among the enemy.....	7
Not citizens of this country.....	6

Other objections not occurring very often but which are rather interesting are:

Objector believes that he will lose his soul and go to Hell if he should disobey his church and his conscience and go to war.

Objector says he cannot obey God and Mammon. Thus he could not obey God and the army sergeant or captain at the same time.

Objector refuses to use carnal weapons. Prefers the sword of the spirit.

Objector refuses to participate in war because it involves hatred toward the enemy.

Objector believes that war is punishment of the unjust and the just are, therefore, exempt.

Objector fears that the temptations of army life will lead him astray.

Objector refuses to be "yoked with unbelievers" and thereby jeopardize his chances of salvation.

Objector believes that war is legalized murder.

Objector refuses to use physical force to the extent of separating soul from body.

Objector promised parents and pastor that he would not fight and feels that he must remain true to his promise.

Objector says "war makes the rich richer and the poor poorer."

Objector doubts America's motives.

Objector says he was not allowed to vote on the war.

Objector says that by staying out he will encourage socialism in Germany.

The political affiliations of about 340 objectors were secured. Of these 340 there were 45 Republicans, 62 Democrats, 22 Socialists, 26 Prohibitionists, 5 Independents, 2 Progressives, 3 not citizens, 3 other parties, and 75 no political affiliation at all. It is interesting that about one half this list have no political affiliations. Nearly all of these non-voters are either Mennonites, Dunkards, Brethren, or I. B. S. A., or Friends. But this is not as significant as it seems to be since it has been pointed out that about 75% of all the objectors belong to these denominations. The writer is of the opinion that there is no causal connection between this apparent disinterest in political affairs and objectors to war. It should be remembered that some religious denominations actually forbid the communicants to take any part in politics on the grounds that they must keep "unspotted from the world."

As far as the information goes very few objectors belong to fraternal organizations. The reports show that more than 90% have no fraternal affiliations. The ten per cent that do belong are scattered over a large number of organizations. Speaking generally one might say that the average conscientious objector is a non-voter, belongs to no social organizations, is not interested in community enterprises. The writer has examined more than fifty objectors and has not found a single individual who had even been superintendent of a Sunday school or held a responsible position in the community.

At the time of the psychological examination the examiner in some instances asked the objector what kind of service he would be willing to render. Reports in 718 cases show the following choices:

Willing to accept regular military service.....	16
Willing to accept non-combatant service.....	160
Willing to accept farm furlough.....	275
Unwilling to accept any kind of service that is any way connected with the military machine.....	267

The Board of Inquiry with whom the final disposition of these men rested did not in all cases give the objector the kind of service he wanted. It did, however, consider the objector's preferences. The following table is quoted from W. G. Kellogg's book, *The Conscientious Objector*, page 127. It shows the final disposition made of 2100 cases.

Recommended for farm or industrial furlough.....	1500
Recommended for Friends' Reconstruction Unit....	88
Recommended for noncombatant service.....	390
Assigned to general military service (insincere)....	122
	<hr/> 2100

The factors determining the kind of service an objector was willing to accept are hard to find. They appear to be neither religious nor intellectual. There is little difference in the average intelligence ratings of the men choosing these various forms of service.

Many psychological examiners made an effort to get at the objector's occupational history. In many cases these data would throw some light on the case. The occupations of 888 objectors were obtained. The more frequent ones are listed here.

Farmers .....	548	Printers .....	11
Clerks .....	40	Salesmen .....	11
Laborers .....	27	Miners .....	10
Machinists .....	20	Chauffers .....	10
Students .....	24	Bookkeepers .....	6
Teachers .....	22	Engineers .....	5
Carpenters .....	17	Factory Workers .....	5
Ministers .....	16	Electricians .....	4

A total of 90 different occupations is represented by these 888 objectors. They run the whole gamut from accountants to zinc workers including one saloon-keeper and a gunsmith. The most striking fact about this list of occupations is the large number of farmers. This in turn is due to the preponderance of Mennonites of whom 90% are farmers.

The available data on the birth and ancestry of conscientious objectors show that out of 720 cases 90% are native born. No accurate information is available on the ancestry of objectors but what is at hand seems to indicate that approximately one third were of American parentage, one third German, and one



third English, Scotch, Russian and Scandinavian. The writer is extremely doubtful if parentage or birthplace has anything to do with an objector's refusal to take part in war. The large percentage of German parentage can easily be accounted for by the fact that most Mennonites are of German descent. Conscientious Objectors cannot be intelligently disposed of by simply calling them pro-German.

The degree of sincerity of a conscientious objector is a thing almost impossible to determine. It is difficult enough to find a test that will identify him, much less to find a measure of his sincerity. Of course, it was not the business of the psychologist to pass final judgment on the sincerity of an objector. But since the psychologist was often called upon to testify in courts-martial proceedings, to pass on an opinion to company commanders, and to furnish testimony to the Board of Inquiry it was necessary that he be able to formulate some opinion as to the sincerity of the objector. One of the chief purposes of the examination herewith attached was to aid the examiner in making up his mind. This examination seeks (1) to determine the objector's intelligence and to find out if he has any mental abnormalities. (2) His educational and occupational history is gone into with a view to getting at his interests. (3) Questions are asked about his church creed and his religious experiences to see how well informed he is. The assumption is that if an individual bases his objection to war on a church creed he ought to know something about it. (4) His moral habits and his social outlook are reviewed. In short the psychologist attempts to get as many lines as possible on the objector's character and social trustworthiness. All this evidence is put together when the psychologist makes his report. Such questions as "What would you do if a German should attack your Grandmother?" are carefully avoided. Questions of this sort are not tests of sincerity and show poor judgment on the part of the examiner. The non-resistance issue was not raised. It leads nowhere.

The Board of Inquiry passed on approximately 2100 cases.

The disposition of these cases was as follows:

Found to be sincere objectors and recommended for farm or industrial furloughs.....	1500
Found to be sincere objectors to combatant but insincere as to noncombatant service.....	219
Found to be sincere objectors of combatant but willing to accept noncombatant service.....	156

Found to be sincere objectors to combatant service but willing to work in reconstruction hospitals.....	15
Found to be insincere both as to combatant and noncom- batant service .....	122

(This table is quoted from Mr. Kellogg's book cited above).

Unfortunately no reports are available showing how well the psychologists' recommendations correlated with the findings of the Board. It was the writer's experience in examining objectors that after carefully applying the examination little doubt remained in the mind of the examiner as to the objector's sincerity or insincerity.

Some general conclusions regarding the psychology of conscientious objectors may now be given. In the first place conscientious objection to war cannot be attributed to inferior intelligence. While it may be true that some religious sects are below the average intelligence of the army, yet they are not far enough below it to have any effect on objection to war. Taken as a whole the conscientious objectors are far superior in intelligence to the white draft of the army taken as a whole. Neither can objection to war be laid at the door of abnormal mental states. It is true that some objectors exhibit mental instability, possibly some are religious fanatics, yet a great majority of them are sane. Moreover conscientious objection to war is not a special case of the "blind leading the blind." Many objectors adhere rigidly to their creeds and follow the instructions of their pastors and so on, but many of them are keen thinkers. They are quick in debate and logical in their arguments. Mental questioning rather than unquestioning is more often the cause of objection.

From a survey of the available data three types of conscientious objectors stand out rather clearly. First there is what may be called the *religious-literalist* type. To this class belong most of the Mennonites, Dunkards, some branches of the Brethren and many of the obscure denominations mentioned above. If an objector of this type were picked at random he might be characterized as follows: He is a Mennonite, born on a farm in a middle Western community. His parents together with others of their faith settled there many generations ago. He went to the country church school. There he was taught the Bible and some simple rules of living. He quit school at the 8th grade and went to work on the farm. He attended church more or less regularly. He was taught to respect his minister and his views of life. He perhaps read

the county newspaper and the Bible, outside of this he has done little reading. His information is limited to the happenings of his own community. He knows that we are at war with Germany but has no idea why. He has no social vision, no national consciousness. So when creed, minister, parents and friends tell him that war is wrong and that he must not fight, what could be expected of him? For a man like this not to be a conscientious objector would violate all the laws of heredity and environment that operate to make men pursue certain courses of action. This type of man constitutes fully 75% of the conscientious objectors.

Secondly, there is the *religious-idealist* type. His appeal is not to church or creed, although he is usually a church member. He appeals directly to conscience and to the teachings of Jesus. He was probably born in a city or an enlightened community and is probably a high school or college graduate. Some men of this type hold advanced degrees from large universities. He is a true Christian and has for years tried to follow closely the example and teaching of Jesus. He is very intelligent, in fact, he may measure up with many officers on the army intelligence scales. He is a thoroughgoing idealist and is entirely unwilling to sacrifice his ideals by resorting to expediency. He perhaps does not have the support of his pastor or friends. He has but one principle of life and that is the principle of love. He believes in applying this principle even in dealing with his enemies. In most cases he refuses to make any compromises and for this reason he is the type usually found in the Disciplinary Barracks. The fault with his type is not that he does not have social vision, but that he has too much.

Thirdly, there is the *socialist* type. He is likely to be well educated and very intelligent. He is well informed on the vital social and economic problems of the day. His patriotism knows no national limits. Here again it is not that he is not patriotic, but he is unusually so. He believes in the Brotherhood of Man, a United States of the World, a League of Free Nations, an ideal state of society in which all shall have equal rights. He is not willing to fight the proletariat of Germany just to get at the ruling classes. He may even believe in the use of force and in fighting, but it is capitalism and imperialism that he wants to fight. The problem with him is that he entirely fails to appreciate "national" problems. The last two classes of objectors constitute about 25% of the whole.

## APPENDIX

## EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

This examination outline is supplied to every examining staff in order that it may be used as seems desirable. Its use is not ordered but it is believed that it will greatly assist examiners who lack experience.

*Purpose:*

1. To determine the degree of intelligence of the conscientious objector, with a view to finding out whether his objections are due to any abnormal mental conditions.
2. To obtain the *specific grounds* of the conscientious objector's objections, and to see how well grounded he is in them (not how consistent).
3. To ascertain the extent of the conscientious objector's information concerning the history and tenets of his faith, and of the organization (if any) to which he belongs. This is for the purpose of ascertaining his objections in somewhat the same way as that employed by Personnel Officers with reference to skill in occupations.
4. To determine the degree of the conscientious objector's objections; just what he is and is not willing to do in the war; e. g., wear the uniform, take the military oath, enter non-combatant service or non-military service, reconstruction, etc.
5. To determine the degree of his sincerity.

*Note:*—The following examination is worked out with a view to covering as many kinds of cases as are likely to occur. It is not necessary that the entire examination be given to any one man. As soon as the examiner has reached the point where he can be reasonably sure that he has sufficient information to satisfy the above requirements, the examination should cease.

*I. Mental Age Examination.*

If the subject speaks English, use Stanford-Binet or Point Scale; if illiterate or non-English speaking, use Performance Test. In any case give as many tests involving verbal responses as possible. Write down all responses in full. Watch carefully for all signs of malingering, for responses that indicate a psychopathic condition, and for responses that have a definite religious trend. Calculate the mental age at once, and let your subsequent questions be governed by the degree of the subject's intelligence.

*II. Personal and Family History.*

1. Are your parents living? If not, state cause of death.
2. Any mental disease or peculiarities existing in family?
3. What blood relationship exists between parents?
4. Have you ever been troubled with sleeplessness, excessive worry, discontent, or any nervous disability?
5. Have you ever had any serious disease or physical defects?

*III. Educational History.*

1. Where did you go to school? How long?
2. How old were you when you quit? Why did you quit?
3. What subject interested you most?
4. How did you get along in school?
5. What books and magazines do you read most now?

IV. *Occupational History.* (Important; if subject is Socialist.)

1. What was your occupation just before joining the Army? How long did you work at it?
2. How many different jobs have you had in your life? Where? Why changes?
3. Do you belong to a trade union? Why or why not?
4. Did you ever participate in a strike?
5. Did you earn enough money to live comfortably?

V. *Religious History and Practices.*

1. What is your denomination? What branch? How long have you been a member? Do you have certificate of membership?
2. To how many different denominations have you belonged? Why changes?
3. When, where and how converted? How many times? (Note especially specific religious experiences, such as visions, divine messages, etc.)
4. What is religion of father, mother, brothers and sisters?
5. Have you ever studied for the ministry? Ever preached? How long? Where?
6. Do you read the Bible daily? How much? What parts interest you most?
7. What religious books other than the Bible do you read?
8. How often do you go to church?
9. How often do you pray? For whom and for what? Do you pray for the Kaiser?
10. Have you ever got direct answers to prayer?
11. Did you attempt to convert others to your religion?

VI. *Moral History and Habits.*

1. Are you a sex offender? (Reformed?) (Why?)
2. Do you smoke or drink? (Reformed?) (Why?)
3. Do you swear? (Reformed?) (Why?)
4. Do you gamble? (Reformed?) (Why?)
5. Do you contract debts? (Reformed?) (Why?)
6. Do you pay debts?
7. Do you lie? (Reformed?) (Why?)
8. Do you steal? (Reformed?) (Why?)
9. What do you consider your worst habits?

VII. *Social History.*

1. Have you ever held an office in your community or church?
2. Do you belong to any secret societies? Ever held office?
3. Are you interested in community enterprises? (Good roads, etc.)
4. In what ways have you wanted to make your community better? Or are you satisfied to let every man take care of himself?
5. Have you ever been before a court on a charge? In jail?

VIII. *Grounds and Degree of Objection.* (If the objections are on religious grounds, follow A.; if on social or political grounds, follow B.)A. *Religious Objections.*

1. Degree of objection.
  - a. Do you object to all wars or only to this war?

- b. Would you take the military oath?  
     wear the uniform?  
     work in reconstruction?  
     do non-military work, such as farming?  
     enter a non-combatant military organization?

2. Specific objections.

- a. Do you object to war because your church forbids it?  
     i. Why does it forbid it?  
     ii. How long has it forbidden it?  
     iii. Have any members of your church ever taken part in war?  
     iv. Do you know any of your fellow-members who have been drafted? What did they do?  
     v. Would you take part in a war to defend your religion?
- b. Do you object to war because the commandment says "Thou shalt not kill?"  
     i. Do you literally obey the other commandments?  
     ii. Do you consider all killing murder?  
     iii. How do you account for divine sanction for war in the Old Testament?
- c. Do you base your objection on passages of Scripture found in the New Testament? What are they?  
     i. Do you live up to the teachings of Jesus in all respects?  
     ii. What do you think Jesus would do if he were drafted? Why?  
     iii. What is your favorite passage?
- d. Do you object to war because you think that if you went to war and were killed, you would go to hell?
- e. Do you object to going to war because you are chosen of God not to fight with carnal weapons?  
     i. Do you think it is wrong for me to fight?  
     ii. How do you account for this war in God's plan for the world?
- f. Do you object to war because war involves hate? Makes deception legitimate? Impedes thereby the coming of the Brotherhood of Man?

3. Information concerning the History and Tenets of his Faith.

- a. How many members has your church as a whole? where mostly?
- b. Who was the founder of your faith?
- c. When were they first called by their present name?
- d. What sacraments do they believe in?
- e. Is the creed of your church written down outside the Bible?
- f. What does your church do to discipline disobedient members?
- g. What is its attitude towards the civil law?
- h. Does your church believe in education?
- i. Does your church co-operate with other religions? Y. M. C. A.?

1. Degree of objection.

- j. Does your church permit marriage outside the church?
- k. Does it believe in the Resurrection of the Body?

**B. *Objections on Social, Economic and Political Grounds.***

- a. Do you object to all wars or only to this war ?
- b. Would you take the military oath ? wear the uniform ? work in re-construction ? do non-military work, such as farming ? enter a non-combatant military organization ?
2. Specific objections.
  - a. Do you object because this is a capitalistic and materialistic war ? In what ways ?
  - b. Do you object because the war is not worth the expense ?
  - c. Do you object because the war is not getting Democracy, or rather is bringing about a German Autocracy, in this country ?
  - d. Do you object to being drafted for a defensive war, or is your objection to being drafted and sent to Europe ?
  - e. Do you object because the people did not vote on the war question ?
  - f. Do you object because you refuse to be swayed by mob psychology and prefer to be in the minority ?
3. Questions to determine how well grounded subject is in his views.
  - a. How long have you held these views ?
  - b. What social organization are you a member of ? How long ? What is its peace program ?
  - c. How did you come to be a Socialist ?
  - d. What books and magazines do you read ?
  - e. As a Socialist what do you consider your personal duty towards the war ?
  - f. Do you believe that by staying out of the war you encourage your social brethren in Germany in a social revolution ? Why has there not been such a revolution, already ?
  - g. Do you believe in police force and enforced arbitration ?
  - h. Do you claim protection under the law, the right to vote, freedom of speech ? Do you think that such liberties were obtained by war ?
  - i. Are you in accord with President Wilson's peace aims ?
  - j. Why do not all Socialists oppose the war ?
  - k. What has been the attitude of Socialist parties here and elsewhere on past wars ?
  - l. What efforts do you make to spread the Socialist view ?
4. Questions to ascertain the extent of subject's information concerning Socialism.
  - a. What is the Socialist view as to the cause of the war ?
  - b. What are the Socialist war aims ? Peace program ?
  - c. What practical things have the Socialists done to end the war ?
  - d. What is the attitude of the German Socialist towards the war ?
  - e. Name some prominent Socialists here and abroad and give their viewpoints.
  - f. What is the Russian peace formula ? Attitude of Germany, England and France thereto ?
  - g. What do you know about the Stockholm conference ?
  - h. To what extent has the war furthered the cause of socialism here ?